POLITICS AND ECONOMICS

OF

ARISTOTLE,

TRANSLATED, WITH NOTES, ORIGINAL AND SELECTED,
AND ANALYSES.

TO WHICH ARE PREFIXED, AN

INTRODUCTORY ESSAY AND A LIFE OF ARISTOTLE,

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THE

ECONOMICS OF ARISTOTLE,

IN TWO BOOKS.

ARISTOTLE'S ECONOMICS.

BOOK I.—CHAP. I.

THE economical and political science[1] differ not only in the same degree as a house and a city, (for these constitute the subject matter of them both,) but also in that political rule involves a plurality of governors, while economic rule is monarchical. Now in some of the arts a division is made, and it does not belong to the same art to make a thing and to use what is made, as for example, a lyre and flutes. It is however the province of the political science to constitute a city from the very first, and when constituted to turn it to a proper use; so that it is clear that it would naturally be the province of economic science both to found a house and to make use of it. Now a city[2] is such a collection of these houses and land and wealth, as brings about an independent and happy life. And this is clear from the fact that whenever the citizens are unable to attain this end, the community is dissolved. And further, this is the end for which they combine: but that for the sake of which any thing exists and is produced, is its essence; so that evidently economics are prior to politics in the order of nature, for their end is prior, and a house or family is a part of a city. We must therefore look into the economical science, and see what is its end.

Difference between οἰκονομικὴ and πολιτικὴ.

A πόλις and an οἶκος contrasted.

[1] For a full explanation of the word πολιτικὴ, and the relation in which οἰκονομικὴ stands to it, the reader is referred to the note above on Pol. i. 1, and also to the excellent remarks contained in Professor Browne's translation of the Ethics. (See Analytical Introduction, p. v., etc.)

[2] With this compare the more precise statement and definition contained in Pol. i. chap. 2.

CHAP. II.

The component parts of an οἶκος.

THE component parts of a house are a man and property. But since the nature of any thing is first scientifically seen in its minutest parts,[1] the same would be the case with regard to a house; so that according to Hesiod it will be requisite that there should be,

"First house, then wife, then oxen for the plough;"[2]

for of these the first is requisite for the sake of food, and the other two belong to freemen. So that it would be necessary to lay down good regulations concerning the association of a wife; and this is to provide one of a fit and proper character. But with regard to property, the first attention should be paid to that which is in accordance with nature; but by nature agriculture is first, next come all those things which are derived from the earth, such as mining and other arts of the like kind. But agriculture should be ranked first because it is just;[3] for it does not derive its profits from men, either with their consent, like petty traffic and the mercenary arts, or without their consent, like the arts which pertain to war. Further also, agriculture is natural, for naturally every existing thing derives its nourishment from its mother, and so consequently men derive it from the earth.[4] Moreover

Need of rules respecting a wife.

Why agriculture to be first attended to.

[1] Compare the opening words of Pol. i. chap. 2, "Now if any one would watch the parts of a state from the very first as they rise into existence, as in other matters, so here, he would gain the truest view of the subject." This inductive method of entering upon his treatises is eminently practical and characteristic of our author, as we have before remarked.

[2] This verse, which is also quoted in Pol. i. 2, is taken from Hesiod's "*Opera et Dies*," book ii. line 23.

[3] Sylburg would transpose the words, and read ἡ δὲ γεωργία, ὅτι μάλιστα δικαία, "And agriculture is κατὰ φύσιν, because it is most just."

[4] This idea is very common in the Greek poets. Compare Æsch. Sept. c. Th. 16—19,

———γῆ μητρὶ, φιλτάτῃ τροφῷ·
ἡ γὰρ νέους ἔρποντας εὐμενεῖ πέδῳ,
ἅπαντα πανδοκοῦσα παιδείας ὅτλον,
ἐθρέψατ' οἰκιστῆρας ἀσπιδηφόρους.

and again Choeph. 127, καὶ γαῖαν αὐτὴν, ἣ τὰ πάντα τίκτεται. and Prom. v. 90, παμμῆτορ γῆ.
So also Soph. Phil. 392, ὦ πατρὸς ἐμοῦ πάμ πολῖτα Ζεῦ, μᾶτερ αὐτοῦ Διός, σὲ κἀκεῖ, μᾶτερ πότνι', ἐπηυδώμαν.

it contributes much towards fortitude; for it does not make the body unserviceable, like the illiberal arts, but renders it fit to live and labour in the open air, and to run the risks of war against assailants. For husbandmen are the only persons whose possessions lie outside of the city walls.

CHAP. III.

The necessity of a wife.

But as to man, the first object of his care should be respecting a wife; for the society which exists between the male and female is above all others natural. For it is laid down by us elsewhere,[1] that nature aims at producing many such creatures as the several kinds of animals; but it is impossible for the female to accomplish this without the male, or the male without the female, so that the society between them exists of necessity. In all other animals indeed, this association is irrational, and exists only so far as they possess a natural instinct, and for the sake of procreation alone. But in the milder and more intelligent animals, this bond more nearly approaches perfection; for there seem to be in them more signs of mutual assistance and good-will, and of co-operation with each other. But this is especially the case with man, because the male and female here co-operate not only for the sake of existence, but of living happily. And the procreation of children is a means not only of subserving nature, but also of solid benefit; for the labour which they expend during their season of vigour upon their helpless young is given back to them in the decay of age, from their children who are then in vigour. And at the same time, by this continual cycle, nature provides for the continuance of the race as a species, since she cannot do so numerically. Thus divinely predisposed towards such a society is the nature of both the male and the female. For the sexes are at once divided, in that neither of them have powers adequate for all purposes,

The conjugal tie.

Distinct duties of the sexes.

A commentary on the idea may be found in the story of L. Junius Brutus, as related in Liv. i. 56. "Ex infimo specu vocem redditam ferunt. Imperium summum Romæ habebit, qui vestrum primus, o juvenes, osculum matri tulerit . . . . Brutus, alio ratus spectare Pythicam vocem, velut si prolapsus cecidisset, *terram* osculo contigit; scilicet, *quod ea communis mater omnium mortalium esset.*"

[1] He alludes probably to Pol. i. chap. 2.

nay, in some respects even opposite to each other, though they tend to the same end. For nature has made the one sex stronger and the other weaker, that the one by reason of fear may be more adapted to preserve property, while the other, by reason of its fortitude, may be disposed to repel assaults; and that the one may provide things abroad, while the other preserves them at home. And with respect to labour, the one is by nature capable of attending to domestic duties, but weak as to matters out of doors; the other is ill-adapted to works where repose is necessary, but able to perform those which demand exercise. And with respect to children, the bearing of them belongs to one sex, but the advantage of them is common to both; for the one has to rear them, and the other to educate them.

CHAP. IV.

The husband's duty towards his wife.

FIRST of all, then, certain laws are to be observed towards a wife, and especially to refrain from injuring her; for thus neither will a man be injured himself. And this is suggested by the common law of nature, (bidding us,) as the Pythagoreans say, "not to injure a suppliant torn away from the hearth;" but the injuries inflicted by a husband are his *liaisons* out of doors. But as to intercourse, the wife ought to be able to rest in the absence of her husband, and accustomed to be content whether he is with her or away from home. Well then has Hesiod said,

"A maiden wed, and wholesome laws instil;"[1]

for dissimilarity of manners is most apt to interrupt affection. With respect to ornament, however, they ought not to approach each other with any studied affectation in their manners or in their persons; for the society which is accompanied with studied ornament differs in no respect from that of tragedians with each other on the stage.[2]

[1] Opera et Dies, book ii. l.

[2] Bekker ἐν τῇ σκευῇ. Sylb. retains the same, but in a note suggests the emendation of Camerarius, ἐν τῇ σκήνῃ. But the former word is used in the same sense in Herod. i. 21, and Aristoph. Ranæ, 105.

CHAP. V.

But of property, the first and most necessary part is that which is best and chiefest; and this is man. Hence it is necessary to obtain worthy slaves. But there are two kinds of slaves, a steward and a drudge. But since we see that modes of education form the characters of the young, it is necessary when you have procured them to rear up those to whose care liberal offices are to be committed.[1] And the conduct of a master towards his slaves should be such as not to suffer them to be insolent or negligent; and to those who are more liberal than others, he ought to give a share of honour, and to the working slaves a sufficiency of food. And since the drinking of wine makes even freemen insolent, and since many nations even of freemen abstain from it, (as the Carthaginians when on service,) it is clear that they should be allowed to partake of it either not at all or very seldom. But as there are three things [to be regarded], work, punishment, and food, to give them food unaccompanied by work or punishment, is wont to cause insolence; but to give them labour and punishment without food is tyrannical, and makes them unable to work. It remains, therefore, to give them employment and sufficient food; for it is not possible to rule over them without giving a recompence; but the recompence of a slave is his food. But as other men become worse when they get nothing by being better, and when no rewards are given for virtuous or vicious actions, so it is with slaves. And hence we must look closely into their character, and distribute or withhold every thing according to merit, both food and clothing, leisure and punishments; imitating both in word and in deed the faculty of physicians, by way of a remedial measure, considering that food, owing to its being continual, has nothing remedial in it. But those races of slaves will be best adapted for work which are not excessively cowardly or daring, for both of the latter act injuriously towards their masters: those who are very cowardly will not endure to work, and the high-spirited are

Good slaves also necessary.

Their treatment.

Need of encouraging slaves.

[1] The Oxford edition, following the text of Syllburgius, has προσακτέον. But the sense is scarcely affected by the change of words.

not easily ruled. It is likewise requisite that an end should be defined to all things; it is therefore right and expedient that freedom should be proposed to them as a reward; for they will be willing to labour when a prize and a definite space of time is laid down. It is right also to bind them as hostages by their families, and not to have too many slaves of the same nation; and to appoint sacrifices and holidays, more for the sake of slaves than of the free; for the latter possess more of these advantages, and it is on this account that such things were devised.

How to bind them to the master's family.

CHAP. VI.

How to acquire and how to preserve property.

But there are four qualities pertaining to the master of a household which he ought to possess respecting riches. For he ought to be able to procure them, and also to preserve them; but if not, then there is no profit in procuring them; for this is but "to draw water in a sieve and a perforated tub," as the proverb has it. Moreover he ought to be apt in applying what he possesses to the purposes of ornament and use, for it is on this account that we need such a thing as wealth. The several kinds of his possessions ought moreover to be divided, and there ought to be more of them fruitful than unfruitful. His employments also ought to be so divided as not to incur risks with all his property at the same time. And for the purpose of preserving his property, it is expedient to use the Persian and Lacedæmonian customs. The Athenian economy also is useful, for they sell their produce, and buy [what they want]; and so there is no need for storing and warehousing in families of small means. The Persian custom is that the master shall order and inspect every thing with his own eye, as Dion said of Dionysius; for no one takes the same care of what belongs to his neighbour as he does of his own property; so that it is necessary for a master himself to inspect every thing as far as possible. The saying of the Persian and the African too is to the purpose; for the former, on being asked what was the best thing to fatten a horse, answered, "The eye of his master;" and the African being asked what was the best manure, replied, "The foot-

The customs of various countries considered.

A master should superintend all things.

steps of the landowner." Some things therefore should be inspected by the master himself, and some by his wife, according as the employments of housekeeping are divided between them. And this is to be done but seldom in small establishments, but often in those where a steward is employed. For it is not possible to imitate well, unless a good model is proposed, either in other things or in the matter of a stewardship; so that it is impossible for stewards to be careful, where the masters are careless. But since these things are both honourable in respect of virtue, and useful towards economy, it is requisite that masters should rise before their slaves and go to rest later, and that a house, like a city, should never be left unguarded; and what ought to be done should be omitted neither by day nor by night. It is likewise well to rise before daybreak; for this contributes to health, wealth, and wisdom. Where then the establishment is small, the Athenian method of disposing the fruits of the earth is useful; but in great ones a division must be made between the yearly and monthly expenditure; and in like manner with respect to vessels in daily or occasional use; and these things must be given over to the stewards. And besides this, these matters should be reviewed at intervals of time, that it may be known what is preserved and what is wanting. But with respect to the possessions themselves, the house should be furnished with a view to both health and comfort. And by "possessions," I mean what is advantageous towards producing crops and clothing, and what suits for preserving dry or moist fruits; and by other possessions, what places are accommodated to the reception of animate and inanimate things, whether slaves or freemen, women or men, strangers or citizens. And with reference to comfort and health, the house should be situated so as to be airy in summer, and sunny in the winter. But this will be effected, if it is exposed to the north, and has less depth than width. And in great establishments a doorkeeper would seem to be useful; he may be one who is useless for other employments, except to watch over what is brought in or carried out of the house. And for the ready use of utensils the Lacedæmonian method is serviceable; for every thing there must lie in its own place, for thus it will be ready at hand, and not have to be sought after (when wanted).

Useful effects of early rising.

Watchfulness and close inspection.

Situation of a house.

CHAP. VII.[1]

Portrait of a good wife.

A GOOD and perfect wife ought to be mistress of every thing within the house, and to have the care of every thing according to fixed laws; allowing no one to come in unbidden by her husband, and especially keeping on her guard against every thing which can be noised abroad relating to a woman's dishonour. So that if any mischance has happened within doors, she alone ought to know about it; but when those who have come in have done any thing wrong, the husband should bear the blame. And she should manage the expenses laid out upon such festivals as her husband has agreed with her in keeping, and make an outlay of clothes and other ornaments on a somewhat lesser scale than is encouraged by the laws of the state; considering that neither splendour of vestments, nor pre-eminence of beauty, nor the amount of gold, contributes so much to the commendation of a woman, as good management in domestic affairs, and a noble and comely manner of life; since all such array of the soul is far more lovely, and has greater force (than any thing besides), to provide herself and her children true ornament till old age. A wife therefore ought to inspire herself with confidence, and perpetually to be at the head of domestic affairs. For it is unseemly for a man to know all that goes on in the house; in all respects indeed she ought to be obedient to her husband, and not to busy herself about public affairs, nor to take part in matrimonial concerns. And when it is time to give

Her conduct towards her husband.

[1] The first book of the Economics of Aristotle is clearly imperfect, as it only opens the subject of economy so far as it appertains to domestic affairs, and then concludes most abruptly. The Greek text of the latter part of the book which follows here, would seem to have perished at a very early period; and accordingly this part of the treatise has existed only in the shape of a Latin translation made from the original text by Aretinus, which has been rendered back into Greek by Tussanus, and is retained in both languages in the Oxford edition of Aristotle's Politics and Economics which issued from the Clarendon press in 1810, from the text of Syllburgius, with the Latin version of D. Lambinus. As the following chapters are necessary to complete the imperfect remains of the treatise as it generally stands, they have been translated and appended in the present edition.

his daughters in marriage, or to get wives for his sons, by all means in these respects she should obey her husband. And she ought to show herself a fellow-counsellor to her husband, so as to assent to what pleases him, remembering that it is less unseemly for a husband to take in hand domestic matters, than for a wife to busy herself in affairs out of doors. But the well-ordered wife will justly consider the behaviour of her husband as a model of her own life, and a law to herself, invested with a divine sanction by means of the marriage tie and the community of life. For if she can persuade herself to bear her husband's ways patiently, she will most easily manage matters in the house; but if she cannot, she will have greater difficulty. So that it will be seemly for her to show herself of one mind with her husband, and tractable, not only when her husband is in good luck and prosperity, but also when he is in misfortune; and when good fortune has failed him, or sickness has laid hold of his bodily frame, or when he has been deprived of his senses, she ought gently and sympathetically to yield in any matter which is not base and unworthy; but if her husband has been ailing and made a mistake, she ought not to keep it on her mind, but to lay the blame on disease or ignorance. For in proportion as she is now more careful to give way, so much the more gratitude will her husband feel towards her, when his ailment has passed by; and if she fails to obey him when he commands something which is unseemly, he will be able to pardon her with a better grace when he recovers. Observing such rules as these, the wife ought to show herself even more obedient to the rein than if she had entered the house as a purchased slave. For she has been bought at a high price, for the sake of sharing life and bearing children; than which no higher or holier tie can possibly exist. Further, if the husband with whom she has lived should fare amiss, her merit would not otherwise reach the same pitch of fame and of good report. It is no small thing indeed to make a good use of prosperity, but it is a far greater thing to endure the contrary lot in a fitting manner. For in every way it is the mark of a lofty mind to show no signs of depression under great sufferings and injuries. It is indeed much to be desired that nothing of the kind should happen to her husband; but if any thing of an adverse nature should surprise him, she ought straightway

In adversity.

to consider that she will gain far higher praise if she directs matters successfully; recalling to her mind the fact that neither would Alcestis have gained such renown, nor Penelope have been deemed worthy of so much praise, had they respectively lived with their husbands in prosperous circumstances; and that it is the sufferings of Admetus and Ulysses which have given to them an everlasting fame. For by preserving faith and justice in the midst of their own husbands' misfortunes, they have gained a deserved reputation. For it is easy to find persons who will share prosperity; but, except a very few and very good ones, women are not willing to share misfortunes. For all these reasons it behoves each woman above all things to honour her husband, and not to despise him if a sacred sense of respect and wealth, which, according to Orpheus, is "the child of confidence," does not attend him. A wife, then, ought carefully to preserve herself in such customs and laws as these.

Examples of noble matrons.

CHAP. VIII.

Conduct of a husband towards his wife.

But the husband in his turn should find out certain laws to regulate his treatment of his wife, as one who entered the house of her husband to share his children and his life, and to leave him a progeny destined to bear the names of her husband's parents and her own. And what in the world could there be more holy than these ties? or what is there about which a man in his sound senses could strive more earnestly, than to beget the children who shall hereafter nurse his declining years, from the best and most praiseworthy of wives; for they are to be, as it were, the best and most pious preservers of their father and mother, and guardians of the entire family. For it is probable that they will turn out good, if they have been reared uprightly by their parents in the habitual practice of what is just and holy; but if the contrary should be the case, they will suffer the loss themselves. For unless parents afford their children a fit pattern of life, they will leave them an obvious excuse to quote against themselves. And this is to be feared, that if they have not lived well, their sons will disregard them, and neglect them in their old age. On this account nothing is to be omitted which tends to the fit

Education of females.

education of a bride, so that the children may be born of the best possible mother. For the husbandman neglects nothing so as to cast his seed upon the richest and best wrought ground, considering that it is from such a soil that he will hereafter reap the fairest fruits; and if any violence threatens, he fights against his enemy, and deliberately chooses to die rather than endure to see it ravaged; and such a disposition as this is praised by most persons. And as such is the care which is spent by us on the support of our bodies, what manner of men ought we to show ourselves on behalf of our children and of the mother that is to rear them? Ought we not most readily to strain every nerve? For in this way alone does the constitution of man's nature, which is mortal, attain to prosperity, and the prayers of parents all tend to this one end. And hence, whoever cares not for this, is sure to be regardless of the gods. It was for the sake of the gods, then, who were present to him when he offered the marriage sacrifice, that he not only took to himself a wife, but also (what is far more) gave himself over to his bride to honour her next to his own parents. But that which is most precious in the eyes of a prudent wife, is to see her husband preserving himself entirely for her, thinking of no other woman in comparison with her, and regarding herself, above all other women, as peculiarly his own, and faithful towards him. For in proportion as a wife perceives that she is faithfully and justly cared for, so much the more will she exert her energies to show herself such. Whoever therefore is prudent, will not fail to remember with how much honour it becomes him to requite his parents, his wife, and his children, in order that he may gain the name of one who is just and upright in distributing to each their due. For every one is indignant beyond measure at being deprived of that which belongs to himself in a peculiar manner; and there is no one who is content at being deprived of his own property, though one were to give him plenty of his neighbour's goods. And in very truth nothing is so peculiarly the property of a wife as a chaste and hallowed intercourse. And hence it would not befit a prudent man to cast his seed wherever chance might take it, lest children should be born to him from a bad and base stock, on an equality with his legitimate sons; and by this the wife is robbed of her con-

Sanctity of marriage.

Evils of promiscuous intercourse.

jugal rights, the children are injured, and above all, the husband himself is enveloped in disgrace. He ought therefore to approach his wife with much self-restraint and decency, and to maintain modesty in his words, and in his deeds a regard to what is lawful and honest, and in his intercourse he should be true and discreet. And to little errors, even though they be voluntary, he ought to vouchsafe pardon; and if she has made any mistake through ignorance, he ought to advise her, and not to inspire her with fear, except such as is accompanied with reverence and respect. For such treatment would be more suited to mistresses at the hands of their gallants. Yet, nevertheless, justly to love her husband with reverence and respect, and to be loved in turn, is that which befits a wife of gentle birth, as to her intercourse with her own husband. For fear is of two kinds; the one kind is reverent and full of respect; such is that which good sons exhibit towards their parents, and well-ordered citizens towards those who rule them in a kindly spirit. But the other kind is attended by hatred and aversion: such is that which slaves feel towards their masters, and citizens towards unjust and lawless tyrants. Furthermore, the husband ought to choose the best course out of all that we have said above, and so to conciliate his wife to himself, and to make her trustworthy and well disposed, as that whether her husband be present or absent, she will be equally good, while he can turn his attention to public matters: so that even in his absence she may feel that no one is better, nor more suited to herself, nor more nearly bound to her, than her own husband: and that he may always direct his energies to the public good, and show from the very first that such is the case, even though she may be very young and quite inexperienced in such matters. For if the husband should ever begin such a course of conduct as this, and show himself to be perfect master of himself, he would be the best guide of the entire course of his life, and he would teach his wife to adopt a similar mode of action.

Reverence and fear.

CHAP. IX.

Homer joins love and reverence.

For even Homer would not praise either love or fear apart from respect, but every where he in-

troduces friendship accompanied with modesty and reverence. At all events he represents Helen as regarding Priam with this kind of fear: for he says,

"Step-father dear,
Thou in mine eyes art honoured and revered:"[1]

and by this he means nothing else except that her love is accompanied with respect. And again, Ulysses thus addresses Nausicaa,

"Lady, I do admire thee and revere."[2]

Homer accordingly considers that these are the mutual terms on which a husband and wife should stand. For no one admires and reverences his inferior; but such feelings arise only in regard to beings superior to each other in nature, and more friendly disposed; and further, in the case of persons inferior to others in wisdom towards their superiors. Such were the sentiments which Ulysses cherished towards Penelope, and long as he was absent from his home, he did not fail in his duty. Agamemnon, indeed, for the sake of Chryseis, did err against his own wedded wife, Agamemnon. for he dared to say in the assembly of the Greeks, that a captive lady, and in no way distinguished for her natural qualities, but rather (to speak plainly) sprung of barbarian origin, was in no way inferior to Clytemnestra:[3] and as he already had sons born of her, he would seem to have acted amiss in this matter. And how could he have been right, considering that he took to himself Chryseis by force as a concubine, even before he could know how she was disposed towards him? But, Ulysses, when the daughter of Atlas earnestly besought him that he would remain with Ulysses. her, promising that she would render him immortal, was not willing even for the sake of this boon to give up the love and affection and confidence of his wife, considering that immortality would be a severe infliction upon him as the price of living on with villany.[4] No, nor did he choose to live on

[1] Il. iii. 172. [2] Od. vi. 168.

[3] This refers to the well-known lines in Il. A. l. 113, etc.

καὶ γὰρ ῥα Κλυταιμνήστρης προβέβουλα,
κουριδίης ἀλόχου· ἐπεὶ οὐχ ἧσσον ἐστὶ χερείων,
οὐ δέμας, οὐδὲ φύην, οὔτ' ἂρ φρένας, οὐδέ τι ἔργα.

[4] Calypso. See Od. book i. l. 14.

with Circe,[1] although she promised to restore his companions; but he answered that nothing in his own eyes could be more sweet than his country, rough and rugged though it were; and he desired far more to behold his mortal wife and child, than himself to possess immortality: and thus he continued to preserve fidelity towards his wife firm and inviolate. So that, as we might expect, he received a like return from his wife. And further, too, in his speech addressed to Nausicaa, the poet shows that he praises above all things the chaste intercourse between a husband and wife. For he there[2] prays the gods that they will grant to her both her husband and home and concord, and this of no common kind, but perfect. For he says,

> "There is no fairer thing,
> Than when the lord and lady with one soul
> One home possess."[3]

Here then, as is clear, the poet praises the mutual concord of husband and wife, and that too not the mere agreement upon servile matters, but that which is justly and harmoniously based on intellect and prudence. For the words "possessing one home with one soul," show this. Again, the same hero says, that while such concord flourishes between a husband and his wife,

> "Comes many a tear to foes, much joy to friends."[4]

Advantages of domestic concord.

And the generality agree with him as speaking truly. For when a man and his wife harmoniously co-operate in the same concerns, it needs must follow that the sentiments of both are the same. And in the next place, gaining power by concord, they deprive their enemies of all hope of success, and they can assist their friends; but when they are at variance with each other, then their friends too are divided, and they especially feel their powerlessness. And hence the poet clearly admonishes the husband and wife that they ought by no means to join together in matters of villany and shame, but in matters just and right to assist each other, by unity of purpose; and first of all in every way to take care of their parents, the man regarding those of his wife no less than his own, and the wife those of

[1] The story of Circe is given by Homer in Odyss. book x. 136—574.
[2] Od. vi. 181. [3] Od. vi. 182—185. [4] Ibid.

her husband. In the next place, it would be necessary for both to take care of their children, friends, and fortunes, and of the entire household, as being their common property, endeavouring to outstrip each other in zeal and attentiveness, that each may become the author of as much good as possible, and may prove himself better and more scrupulously just: as also to dismiss all haughtiness, and to adopt habits of industry, and so with gentle and kindly rule to regulate the house; so that when they are now arrived at old age, having bade farewell to the duties of economy, and being freed from their passions, they may be able to give, each to the other and to their children, an account of their stewardship, as to which of the two has throughout bestowed greater attention to the management of their home, and so may know at once whether misfortune has come by chance or success by merit. And whichever has excelled in these respects, will obtain from the gods one gift, the greatest of all. For, as Pindar says,

> "Sweet hope that cheers the heart, bears company,
> And proves the nurse of age."[1]

And also he will obtain another piece of good fortune, namely, to be cherished in old age by his children. On this account, both in public and private life, it would become the man who would pass a happy life, to have a regard for all the gods and his fellow-men, and especially for his wife, his children, and his parents.

BOOK II.—CHAP. I.

The character of an economist.

HE who purposes duly to manage any branch of economy, should be well acquainted with the locality in which he undertakes to labour, and should be naturally clever, and by choice industrious and just; for if any one of these qualities be wanting, he will make many mistakes in the business which he intends to take in hand. Now, to speak by way of general distinction, there

[1] This passage of Pindar (Fr. 233) is also quoted by Plato in his first book of the "Laws."

Four kinds of economy.

are four kinds of economy, the regal, the satrapical, the political, and the domestic; for all others, as we shall find, fall under one or other of these heads. But of these the greatest and most simple is the regal; the most varied and easiest is the political; but the private is of all of the least importance and most various. They must of necessity have very many points in common with each other; but we must look to those points which belong to each of them distinctively. First, then, let us consider the regal. This kind, indeed, is general in its force, and it contains four species, one concerning money, another concerning exports, a third concerning imports, while a fourth relates to expenditure. And to speak of these severally; by that which concerns money I mean, what coin should be raised or lowered in price, and when; and by that which refers to exports and imports, when and what it will be profitable to receive from the satraps in office, and to dispose for sale; and as to expenditure, I mean what retrenchments must be made and when, and whether we must contribute money towards expenses, or those articles which are purchaseable by money.

The regal.

The satrapical.

Its six divisions.

And secondly, the satrapical. This embraces six kinds of revenue, from the soil, from the peculiar productions of the country, from trade, from tolls, from cattle, and from all other sources. And of these kinds the best is that concerned with the produce of land, (and this is what some call tithe,[1] and others tenths;) while next ranks that which is concerned with peculiar productions, as for example, with gold, or silver, or brass, where they are severally found; thirdly comes that which has to do with traffic; fourthly, that which arises from vegetable produce and market tolls; while fifth is that which is concerned with cattle, and which is called usufruct or tithe; and last in order is that derived from other sources, and which is known by the names of a poll tax, or handicraft tax. But thirdly, [let us consider] the political economy: and of this, the best is the income which arises from the peculiar productions of the soil; next, that which comes from traffic and carriage of goods; and then, that which is derived from matters of every-day life. Fourth and last

The political.

[1] In this sense the word occurs in Herod. iv. 198, *ἐκ δύο τοῦ κάρπου*.

comes the domestic economy; and this is the reverse of simple, owing to the fact that a house cannot of necessity be managed with a view to one single aim, and it is the least of all, because its incomings and outgoings are on a small scale. And under this kind of economy the least is an income derived from land, secondly, from matters of daily life, and thirdly, from money. And apart from these points (there is) a matter which belongs in common to every kind of economy, and which we must regard not as a casual matter, but as one which specially belongs to this last kind; namely, that the expenses do not exceed the incomings.

Practical considerations.

Since, then, we have mentioned the divisions (of economy), next we must again ascertain, as to the satrapy or the city about which we are considering, whether it is able to bear all these kinds of expenditure which we have just now distinguished, or the greatest of them. After this, which of the means of revenue either do not exist at all, but yet may be made available, or are at present small, and yet are capable of augmentation; and out of the present expenses, which and what amount may be removed without doing harm. We have spoken, then, as to the various kinds of economy and their separate parts: but whatever has been effected by any ancient writers as to the supply of wealth, or whatever they have skilfully contrived, of this we have collected together all that we conceive to be worthy of mention: for among these there are some matters which a man will be able to accommodate to any such business as he may take in hand.

CHAP. II.

Story of Cypselus.

CYPSELUS of Corinth made a vow to Zeus, that, if he should gain the supreme power in the state,[1] he would dedicate to the god all the property of the Corinthians. So he ordered them to give in a written list of it; and when they had done so, he took a tenth part away from each individual, and ordered them to earn money with the remainder. And when the year came round again he did the very same thing; and so in ten years the result was,

[1] See Pol. v. 11, note, page 204.

that he possessed every thing which he had vowed to dedicate, while the Corinthians had gained other money instead.

CHAP. III.

Of Lygdamis.

LYGDAMIS of Naxos expelled certain exiles; and when no one was willing to buy their property except at a very low price, he sold it to the exiles themselves. And as for all their offerings, which they had lying by them half-wrought in their workshops, he sold them to the exiles and to any one else who chose to buy them, so as to enrol the names of the buyers upon the register.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Byzantines.

THE Byzantines being hard-pressed for money, sold the public lands; part of them, which were fruitful, for a certain number of years; but the unfruitful for ever in fee simple: both those which belonged to a Thiasus [1] or a clan, and likewise whatever lay in the hands of private individuals; for those to whom the other property belonged, bought them at a high price. But to the members of the Thiasi (were given) other grounds belonging to the public, which lay near the gymnasium, or the agora, or the harbour. And as for the market-places in which any thing used to be sold, and the fishery of the sea, and the salt-market, and the places belonging to persons who were employed as conjurers, and soothsayers, and drug-venders, and other such occupations, they ordered them to pay the third part of their gains by way of tax. And they sold the profits of the money-changers at one table; and no one besides had any thing to sell to another, nor to buy from another; but if he had, he was immediately deprived of it. And as there was a law among them to the effect that no one should be deemed a citizen who was not sprung from a citizen on both father's

[1] This word originally signified any company of persons met together for a religious purpose, such as a choir of Bacchanals, or a party met to celebrate a festival. In the democratic state of Greece, there were religious associations called by this name, who clubbed together, kept a common fund, purchased land, etc., for religious purposes. A member of such a Thiasus was called a *θιασώτης*. The word is derived from *σιός*, Doric for *θεός*.

and mother's side, they decreed that whoever had one parent a citizen might become a citizen upon laying down 30 minæ. And being in want both of food and money, they brought back their ships from the Euxine Sea: and after a time, as the merchants were indignant, they paid them a tenth by way of interest, and ordered that those who purchased any article should pay a tenth over and above the actual price. And when certain Metœci had lent money on property already mortgaged, and when they could not get payment, they passed a decree that every one's property should be safe, who paid to the state the third part of the debt.

CHAP. V.

The story of Hippias.

HIPPIAS of Athens sold those parts of the upper stories which projected into the streets, and the steps and palisades before the houses, and the doors which opened outwards; these were bought by those who had property, and thus a large sum of money was collected. And the coin which was current at Athens he proclaimed spurious; and setting upon it a fixed price, he ordered them to bring it back to him; and when they met together for the purpose of devising a new coinage, he gave them back the same money as they had brought him. And whenever any one was about to act as a trierarch or phylarch, or to give a chorus, or to expend money upon any other such liturgy,[1] he laid upon him a small fine, and bade him pay this if he was willing, and then enrolled his name among those who had discharged a liturgy. And he bade them offer to the priestess of Athena in the Acropolis, on behalf of every one who died, one chœnix of barley and another of wheat, and an obol besides; and that the same offering should be made by every one to whom a child should be born.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Athenians of Potidæa.

THE Athenians who dwelt at Potidæa being in want of money for the war, agreed to order all the citizens to enrol their properties, not collectively each in his own deme, but each property separately where it

[1] See notes on Pol. iv. 15, and v. 8.

lay, that the poor might be able to make an assessment of their property; but that any one who had no property at all, should assess their own persons at 2 minæ. From this proceeding they contributed the sum enjoined, to the preservation of their city.

CHAP. VII.

Of an Antissæan.

A MAN of Antissa, when the city was in want of money, as the citizens were accustomed to celebrate the Dionysia with splendour, providing for that festival many yearly shows and costly sacrifices, persuaded them when the feast was near at hand, to vow that they would give double the following year, and to collect together and sell what they had in hand. Accordingly a large sum of money was collected by them to meet their necessity.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the people of Lampsacus.

THE people of Lampsacus, when a large body of triremes was expected to come against them, the medimnus of corn being at 4 drachmæ, ordered the retail dealers to sell it at 6; and when the gallon of olive oil was at 4 drachmæ and 3 obols, and wine and other provisions in like manner. So the individual got the accustomed value (for his goods), while the city gained what was over and above, and so became well supplied with money.

CHAP. IX.

THE people of Heraclea, not being well furnished with money, sent forty ships to the tyrants about the Bosphorus, and bought up from the merchants all the corn, oil, and wine, and the rest of their provisions. And when the time came round at which they were to pay the purchase money, and it was to the advantage of the merchants not to sell their wares by retail, but wholesale, they[1] . . . . . did not set before them money,

[1] The common reading here is *εἰδότες δι' ἄλλην* which clearly is absurd and meaningless. The suggestion of Camerarius is original and bold, *ἔδοντες σκυτάλην*, "bringing with them a tally," (see Liddell and Scott, v. *σκυτάλη*.) Such things, as it is known, were in frequent use

but made a mart on board of the vessels, and over each of the ships they set a man to dispense it. And on their arrival at the enemy's land, the soldiers bought the whole from them. The money therefore was collected before the generals gave back the pay, and so the result was that the same money was given until they returned home.

CHAP. X.

Of the Samians and Lacedæmonians.

WHEN the people of Samos besought the Lacedæmonians to give them money in order to effect their return, the latter decreed that they would go fasting for a single day, themselves, their servants, and their beasts of burden,[1] and that they would give to the Samians the amount which each of them would otherwise have expended.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Chalcedonians.

THE citizens of Chalcedon, having a great number of foreign mercenaries in their city, were unable to give them their pay. They proclaimed therefore, that if any one of the citizens or metœci either had or wished to have a pledge from either the state or private persons, they should enrol their names. And when many had enrolled themselves, they plundered the vessels which were sailing into the Euxine on a specious pretence. And they appointed a time at which they said that they would give account concerning them. And when a large amount of money had been collected, they dismissed the soldiers, but went to law concerning the pledges. And the city out of its revenues gave back what they had lost to those who had been unjustly plundered.

CHAP. XII.

Of the Cyzicenes.

THE people of Cyzicus being at variance, the popular party prevailed; and having taken the rich men prisoners, they decreed that as money was

between debtors and creditors, but the editor has thought it best to omit the words as spurious.

[1] Compare Jonah iii. 7, 8.

owing to the soldiery, they would not put their prisoners to death, but that they would free them and banish them.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the Chians.

THE Chians, as they had amongst them a law ordering them to enter a register of their debts in the public treasury, decreed that all debtors should pay back their debts to the state, and that the city out of its revenues should give interest to those who had advanced the money, until they should reach their former pitch of prosperity.[1]

CHAP. XIV.

Of the tyrant Mausolus.

MAUSOLUS, tyrant of Caria, when the king sent to him to pay his tribute, collected together the wealthiest men in the country, and said that the king asked for the tribute, but that he himself had no supply of money. And certain persons, whom he had suborned, declared to them how much each of them must contribute. And when this was done, the wealthy individuals, partly through shame and partly through fear, promised and contributed a far larger sum than was specified. Being again in want of money, he called an assembly and told the Mylassians that their city, which was the metropolis, was without walls, and that the king was about to march against it. He therefore bade the Mylassians to contribute as much money as possible, saying that by what they should now contribute, they would save the rest. And when a considerable sum had been contributed, he kept the money himself, and said that the god would not allow him immediately to build the wall.[2]

CHAP. XV.

Of Condalus.

CONDALUS, a deputy of Mausolus, whenever any one brought him a sheep, or pig, or calf, as he passed through the country, used to mark down the name of

[1] The emendation of Sylburgius here is probably correct, *ἕως ἂν καὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐκπορίσωσι*, until they should pay the sum originally due.

[2] After *οἰκοδομεῖν*, the word *ἐᾶν*, or some other of similar meaning, must be supplied to fill up the sense, which clearly requires it.

the donor and the time, and ordered him to carry it back home and keep it until he should come back; and when a suitable time seemed to have arrived, he used to reckon up the profit and demand it back with the usufruct besides. And as to such trees as projected over or fell upon the king's highways, he sold their preits. And if any of the soldiers died, he exacted a drachma as a toll for the body passing the gate; accordingly he made money by the matter, and at the same time the rulers did not deceive him as to when the soldier died. And as he saw that the Lycians were fond of wearing long hair, he said that letters had been received from the king, bidding them send away their hair to make false fronts, and that accordingly he had been bidden by Mausolus to shave them. He said that therefore he would send for hair from Greece, if they would be willing to give him a specified sum as a poll-tax. They willingly gave him what he demanded, and a considerable quantity of money was collected from a large multitude.

CHAP. XVI.

Of Aristotle of Rhodes.

ARISTOTLE of Rhodes, governor of Phocæa, being in want of money, as he saw that the Phocæans were cut into two factions, secretly came to an agreement with one of the factions, saying that their opponents were about to offer him money, on condition that he would put matters into their hands; but that he himself preferred to receive money from the former party, and to give the city into their hands for them to manage. And upon hearing this, those who were present at once furnished money, and gave him as much as he commanded them. Then, again, he showed the others what he had received from their opponents; and they said they would give him just as much. And having thus taken a bribe from both parties, he reconciled the factions together. And seeing that law-suits were rife among the citizens, and that there were many injuries of long standing, he held a court, and laid down[1] a law

[1] The text from this point to the end of the chapter is very suspicious, and the various emendations proposed are but unsatisfactory at the best. It is perhaps almost necessary to regard as interpolated the words *προεῖπεν ὅσοι ἂν μὴ ἐικάσωνται*, and to reject them as a marginal gloss upon *νόμον*

that judgment should no longer be given in the case of all out-standing charges. Then by the deposits made in numerous suits, and by reserving in his own hands those which involved damages, and by taking bribes from each party through the instrumentality of the other, he collected together no small amount of money.

CHAP. XVII.

Of the Clazomenians.

THE people of Clazomenæ, too, being afflicted with famine and in want of money, decreed that those private individuals who had any oil should lend it to the city at a certain interest: now this fruit abounds in their country. And having hired vessels from the lenders, they sent them off to the marts from which they had their supply of corn, leaving the value of the oil as a pledge. And as they owed their soldiers pay to the amount of twenty talents, and were not able to furnish it, they gave the generals four talents a year by way of interest. But when they cut off nothing from the former debt, and were always expending money to no purpose, they coined some money of iron to stand in place of silver to the amount of twenty talents, and giving silver to all the richest men in the state upon a proportionate scale, they took back from them an equivalent. So the private citizens had money to spend upon their daily wants, and the city was freed from its debt. And, secondly, out of their revenues they paid them the interest due, and continually dividing it they gave a share to each, and called in the iron coinage.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the Selybrians.

THE Selybrians were in want of money; and as there was a law among them not to export corn in a season of famine, and they had stores of corn of the preceding year, they passed a decree that private persons should give up their corn to the state at the fixed price, each leaving behind a year's supply: then they gave leave to any one who chose to export it, affixing to it such a price as seemed good to them.

ἔθηκε, κ. τ. λ. In that case the conjunction εἰ must be expunged, and for παραβολήν, or παραβόλον, we must read παραβολῇ.

CHAP. XIX.

Of the citizens of Abydos.

THE citizens of Abydos,—when their country was lying fallow on account of the prevalence of faction, as their metœci did not give them any thing, owing to the fact that they were still in debt,—passed a decree that any one who chose might lend money to the husbandmen, in order to induce them to work, as they themselves would get the first-fruits of the soil, and the others from what was left.

CHAP. XX.

Of the Ephesians.

THE Ephesians, being in want of money, passed a law that their women should not wear gold, but should lend to the state all that they then possessed, and having ordered them to pay the sum of silver which was necessary from the pillars of the temple, they allowed the name of him who gave the silver to be inscribed as if he had offered it.

CHAP. XXI.

Of Dionysius at Syracuse.

DIONYSIUS of Syracuse, wishing to collect together some money, called an assembly, and said that he had seen Demeter, who bade him offer at her temple the ornaments of the women. He said that he for his part had done this with the ornaments of the women in his own family, and he urged the others to do the same, lest some vengeance from the gods should befall them; and as for the man who refused to do thus, he declared that he should be deemed guilty of sacrilege. And when all had brought whatever they possessed, through fear of the goddess and himself, he dedicated all the ornaments to the goddess, and took it back himself as a loan from the goddess. And as time went on, and the women were beginning to wear gold again, he ordered that all women who wished to wear it should offer a certain specified sum at the temple. And being about to build some triremes, he knew that he should be in want of money. So he convened an assembly, and said that a certain city was

on the point of being betrayed to him, but that he wanted money for that purpose; and he urged the citizens each to bring him 2 staters: and they brought them. And after an interval of two or three days, he pretended to have failed of his purpose, and having praised them, he gave back to each what they had brought. And by so doing, he gained over the citizens to his cause. Then they brought contributions again, thinking that they should get back their money; but he took them and kept them for the purpose of his ship-building. And when he was short of money he coined some of tin, and having convened an assembly, he spoke much on behalf of the new coinage: and they passed a decree, even against their will, that each would consider what he should take of it as silver, and not a baser metal. Again, being in want of money, he urged the citizens to bring in their contributions: but they said that they had nothing to give. Accordingly he brought out the domestic utensils from his own house, as though obliged to do so for want; and when the Syracusans bought them, he wrote down what each bought, and as soon as they had put down the money, he ordered them each to carry back the vessel which he had bought. And as the citizens, owing to the property taxes, were unable to keep cattle, he said that he now had enough for such and such a purpose, and that therefore those who had any cattle should henceforth be free of tax. And when many of them soon got cattle under the idea that they should have them free of tax, as soon as he thought a fit occasion was come, he ordered them to assess their value and laid a tax upon them. The citizens accordingly were indignant at the deceit of Dionysius, so they began to slaughter and sell them. And when, to meet this, he ordered them to slaughter only as much as was wanted from day to day, they in turn accounted them as victims; but he forbade them to sacrifice any female. Again, when he was in want of money, he bade all the families of orphans to send him in a list of their property; and when others had sent in their inventory, he was satisfied with the enjoyment of their property until they severally arrived at full age. And having surprised Rhegium, he collected an assembly, and said that they might very justly have been reduced by him to slavery, but that now he was willing to let them off on receiving the amount which they had spent upon the war, and 3 minæ besides for each

individual. But the Rhegians brought to light all their hidden treasures, and the poor borrowed from the rich and from the strangers, and so brought him the money which he demanded. And when he had taken this from them, he nevertheless sold their persons, and seized upon all their disclosed treasures which up to that time had been concealed. And having borrowed money from the citizens upon a promise of restoring it, when they began to demand it back, he bade them bring him all the silver that they each possessed, threatening them with death as the punishment, in case they failed to do so. And when the money was brought, he stamped it anew, and gave out the drachma of the value of two drachmas, and they brought back to him the debt which was previously owing. And sailing to Tyrrhenia with a hundred ships, he took out of the temple of Leucothea gold and silver, and other ornaments, to no inconsiderable amount. And the sailors brought it all back, supposing that when they had brought half of it, they would have the rest without being disturbed. But as soon as they had received it, he ordered them to go back and fetch the rest.

CHAP. XXII.

Of the Mendeans.

THE Mendeans expended on the regulation of their city the income arising from harbour-dues and other tolls, and they did not exact the tribute arising from land and houses, but entered on a register those who had property, and, whenever they wanted money, those who owed it paid it. They made a profit accordingly during the time which had elapsed, being satisfied with their money for which no interest was paid. But on making war against Olynthus, and finding themselves in want of money, as they had a stock of slaves, they passed a decree to leave each man a male and female slave, and to sell the rest to the city, so that individuals might lend out their money to the city at interest.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of Callistratus.

WHEN the harbour-dues in Macedonia were being farmed for the most part at twenty talents,

Callistratus caused them to fetch double of that amount; for as he saw that the rich men always purchased them, because it was necessary to make men worth one talent at least bail for every twenty talents, he issued a proclamation, that any one who wished might become a purchaser, and that bail should be given for a third part only, and at any rate that they severally might be able to obtain.

CHAP. XXIV.

Of Timotheus.

TIMOTHEUS, an Athenian, making war on the Olynthians, and being in want of silver, coined some brass money and gave it to the soldiers; and when the soldiers were indignant, he said that the merchants and petty dealers would all sell to them in the same way as before. And he proclaimed to the merchants, that if any of them should receive brass money, he should buy with it the marketable produce of the land, and whatever was gathered from the plains; and that whatever brass money they should have left about them they should bring back to him and take silver instead. And being at war about Corcyra and finding himself in a strait, as his soldiers began to demand their pay, refusing to obey him, and threatening to go off to the enemy, he convened an assembly, and said that owing to the storms his money could not be sent to him, but that he had such an abundant supply that he would give them the city which had been betrayed, as provisions for three months, free of cost. And imagining that Timotheus would never promise them so large a store of money, if he did not really expect that the money would come to him, they said nothing about the pay, until he had arranged matters as he wished. And besieging Samos, he sold back to the Samians their fruits and what was on their fields, so that he had a plentiful supply of money to pay his soldiers. And when there was a scarcity of provisions in the camp, owing to the influx of new comers, he forbade them to sell their corn ground, or any measure of it less than a medimnus, or any thing less than a metrete of liquids. The taxiarchs accordingly, and the captains of companies, bought it wholesale and distributed it to the soldiers, and they came up and carried off with them their provisions;

and whenever they departed back, they sold whatever they had over: so that it came to pass that the soldiers had a good supply of provisions.

CHAP. XXV.

Of Didales.

DIDALES, a Persian, having soldiers under him, was able to supply them with their daily rations from the enemy's land; but as he had no money to give them, and he was asked for it at the time when it became due, he made the following contrivance. He called an assembly and said that he had no lack of money, but that he had it at a certain place, specifying where. And harnessing his mules, he went towards the spot; but when he came near to it, and going forward into it, he took out from among the sacred things stored up, all the silver plate that was there, and then went his way having so arranged his mules as if they were really conveying coined silver and exhibiting it. And when the soldiers saw this, they thought that it was all silver which they were carrying, and took courage as though they were about to gain their pay. But he said that they must come to Amisus and signify their approval. Now the journey to Amisus was one of many days and difficult; so accordingly, during that time he satisfied the army by merely giving them their provisions. But he himself kept in hand the artificers in the camp, and those who traded in any articles of merchandise; and no one else was permitted to set himself to any thing of this kind.

CHAP. XXVI.

Of Chabrias.

CHABRIAS, an Athenian, advised Taos, the king of the Egyptians, when he was going out on an expedition and was in want of money, to take one of the priests and a quantity of the victims, and to say to the priests that they must be discharged on account of the expense. And when the priests heard it, each of them wished the victim to be in their own hands, and so they each offered money separately for themselves. And when he had received money from them all, he bade them give them an order, that they should set down to the account of the temple and himself, the tenth part of the

expense which they had previously incurred, and to lend the rest to him until the war against the king should be brought to an end. And he ordered them all to bring in a contribution from every family, fixing the requisite sum, and likewise a fine upon every head. And when corn was sold, he ordered that the buyer and seller should deduct from the actual price, and give him an obol out of every artabé, and from the shipping and the manufactories, and from those who had any other employment, he bade that the tenth part should be paid. And when he was about to lead his army out of the country, if any one chanced to possess any uncoined gold or silver, he ordered him to bring it to him; and when most had brought what they had, he bade them make use of it; but those who lent it he placed together with his captains, so that he could pay them out of the tribute.

CHAP. XXVII.

Of Iphicrates.

IPHICRATES an Athenian, when Cotys had collected together some soldiers, furnished him with money as follows. He bade one of the men over whom he ruled to sow for him some land with three medimni of corn; and when this was done, a large store of corn was collected. Accordingly he brought down his stock to the sea, and gained an abundance of wealth.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Of Cotys.

A THRACIAN, named Cotys, wished to borrow of the Perinthians some money for the purpose of collecting soldiers; but the Perinthians would not give it to him. He claimed of them, therefore, at all events to grant him some men out of the body of citizens as guards for certain strongholds, that he might be able to make the most out of the soldiers who were then on guard there. They speedily did so, as they deemed that they would themselves gain the post. But Cotys having made a garrison with those who were sent out, ordered them to be gone, as soon as they had sent back the money which he had borrowed of them.

CHAP. XXIX.

Of Mentor.

THE younger Mentor, having arrested Hermias and got possession of his possessions, left those who had been placed there by Hermias, where they were to guard them. And as soon as they were all in good heart, and had got into their houses whatever they had hidden or secretly removed, he seized them, and stripped them of every thing which they possessed.

CHAP. XXX.

Of Memnon.

MEMNON of Rhodes having made himself master of Lampsacus, being in want of money, laid upon the richest of the people a certain amount of silver, and said that they might gather it from the rest of the citizens; but when the other citizens had given their contributions, he bade them lend him them also, fixing upon a time at which he would restore it back. And again being in want of money, he ordered them to contribute, saying that they should be repaid out of the tribute; but they gave in their contributions, considering that the repayment would be speedy; and when the time came for laying down the money, he said that he had need of this also as well, but that he would hereafter repay them with interest. And the soldiers who were with him he deprived of their provisions and their pay for six days every year, saying that on these days they need not keep watch, or make any expedition, or incur any expense, meaning the days superfluous in the calendar.[1] And during the previous time he gave to the soldiers their provisions on the second of the month, thus omitting three days in the former month, and five in the following; and in this manner he went on until he came to the thirtieth day.

[1] ἐξαιρέσιμοι ἡμέραι, days that were taken out of the calendar, so that some months were of only twenty-nine days each, in order to make the solar and lunar year agree. The word has the exactly opposite meaning to ἐμβόλιμος, or intercalary, see Herod. i. chap. 32. Compare also Cic. Verr. ii. 52. The reader will do well to refer to the full explanation of the term given in the Dictionary of Greek and Rom. Antiquities, Art. "Calendar, Greek."

CHAP. XXXI.

Of Charidemus.

CHARIDEMUS of Orus, being in possession of certain places in Æolis, asked for money to pay his soldiers, as Artabazus was leading an army against him. At first indeed they gave in their contributions, but afterwards they said that they could do so no longer. But Charidemus bade the place which he considered the richest, to send off into another place whatever they possessed in coin or any other valuable property, saying that he would give them an escort; and further he showed that he was ready to do so. And when the men were persuaded, he led them a little way out of the city, and having inquired how much they had, he took all that he had need of, and sent them back again to the place. And having issued a proclamation in the cities under his command, that no one should possess in his house any kind of arms, but that if he did so he should pay a specified fine, he disregarded the matter and made no further concern of it. And the citizens beginning to think that the proclamation had been made as a dead letter, kept what each of them chanced to have as before. But on a sudden he made a search into their houses, and enacted the fine from all those in whose houses he found any arms.

CHAP. XXXII.

Of Philoxenus.

PHILOXENUS a Macedonian, being satrap of Caria, and being in want of money, said that he was about to celebrate the Dionysia, and appointed as choragi the richest of the Carians, and ordered them to prepare what was necessary. And when he saw that they bore it ill, he secretly sent some messengers and asked them what they would give to be freed from their liturgy. But they said that they would give much more than what they thought would be the probable expenditure, in order to be freed from the trouble, and from absence from their property. And having taken money from these, he fixed on others, until he got from them too whatever he wanted; and so with each of them he made a profit.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Of Evæses.

Evæses, a Syrian, being Satrap of Egypt, perceiving that the nomarchs were about to revolt from him, called them into the palace and hung them all; and bade the servants tell their relatives that they were in safe keeping. Each of the relatives accordingly began to collect money for the ransom of each, desiring to redeem the captives with money. But he came to an agreement with each, and having received from him the specified sum, gave him back the dead body.

CHAP. XXXIV.

Of Cleomenes.

Cleomenes of Alexandria being Satrap in Egypt, forbade the exportation of corn during a season of famine, in which other parts suffered severely, and Egypt to a lesser extent. And as the nomarchs said that they should not be able to pay their tribute, owing to the non-exportation of corn, he allowed it to be exported, but put a high price upon the supply of food; so that in the end, though but little was exported, he received a large sum, and the nomarchs themselves were deprived of their excuse. And as he was sailing through those parts where the crocodile is regarded as a god, one of his slaves was seized by the monster. Accordingly he called the priests together and said, that as he had been injured first, he would punish the crocodiles, and he ordered them to hunt them. But the priests, fearing that their god would be despised, collected together and gave him as much gold as they were able, and so he desisted from his purpose. And when king Alexander enjoined upon him to found a city near to Pharos, and there to establish the mart which was hitherto at Canopus, he sailed down to Canopus to the priests and the wealthy individuals, and said that he had come there for the purpose of removing their settlement. But the priests and inhabitants contributed to give him a sum of money that he might leave their mart as it was. He took it and at that time departed, but afterwards, having sailed down, when he had every thing ready for building, he asked them for money to an immense

amount: for that this was the matter which concerned him, whether the mart should be there or not. And when they said that they could give him nothing, he removed them elsewhere. And having sent a person to purchase something, and perceiving that he had hit upon it very cheap, and was about to reckon it to himself at a very high price, he told the friends of the purchaser that he had heard that he had made his purchase very dear, and so that he would not have any thing to do with it: and at the same time, with assumed anger, he reproved him for his doltishness. But, on hearing this, they said that he ought not to believe those who said any thing against him, until he should come before him and render an account himself. And when the purchaser came, they told him what they had heard from Cleomenes; and wishing to show them and Cleomenes what he had done, he brought back the money with which he had made the purchase. And when corn was being sold in the country for ten drachmæ, he called the corn-factors to him, and asked them on what terms they would negociate with him; and they said that they would sell to him for less than the price at which they sold to the merchants. But he ordered them to give him corn at the same price as they sold to others, and then sold it himself, fixing the price at thirty-two drachmæ. He also called the priests together, and said, that the expenditure upon the temples in the country was too great: and that consequently the greater part of the temples and of the priests must be put down. But the priests, both singly and collectively, gave him the sacred treasures, fancying that this was what he was about to take, and each wishing that his own temple should remain as it was before, and that he should himself be continued in the office of a priest.

CHAP. XXXV.

Of Antimenes.

ANTIMENES of Rhodes being intrusted by Alexander with the charge of the roads about Babylon, thus collected money. There was an ancient law in Babylon, that a tenth part should be paid on all imports; and no one had enforced this law. Accordingly he watched the time when all the satraps and the soldiers were expected, and several legates and artificers bringing others with them, and

journeying from home on their own account, and when many gifts were likely to be brought, and then he exacted a tenth part according to the established law. And when again he was seeking to provide money, he ordered every one who pleased to enter the names of the slaves in the army at such a price as he chose, and that they should pay him eight drachmæ a year; and if the slave should run away, he promised that the value enrolled upon the slave should be restored them. Accordingly, a great body of slaves were enrolled, and he gained a considerable sum of money. But if any slave ran away, he used to order the satrap of the part in which the camp stood, either to recover him, or pay the amount to the owner.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Of Opheles.

OPHELES, an Olynthian, having established a procurator over the district of Arthriditis, when the nomarchs of that region came to him and said that they wished to pay him a larger tribute, and entreated him to dismiss their present procurator, asked them whether they would be able to pay what they promised; and when they said that they could pay, he left the procurator where he was, and bade him exact from them the whole amount of tribute at which they had assessed themselves. He did not think it right to disgrace the magistrate whom he had set over them, nor to lay on them a heavier tribute than they had themselves fixed; but he collected a far larger sum of money.

CHAP. XXXVII.

Of Pythocles.

PYTHOCLES, an Athenian, advised the Athenians that the city should take out of private hands the lead which came from Tyre at 2 drachmæ, the price at which they sold it, and then to sell it themselves, fixing its price at 6 drachmæ.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Of Chabrias.

CHABRIAS, having manned one hundred and twenty vessels, while Taos had need of only sixty,

ordered the companies of the sixty vessels which would remain behind, to supply two months' provisions to the crews who sailed, or else to go on the expedition themselves. But as they wished to remain behind and take care of their own property, they did as he ordered.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Of Artimenes.

ARTIMENES ordered the satraps to fill up the treasures which lay along the royal highways according to the custom of the country; and whenever the army or any other company passed by, even without the king, he sent some one of his retinue and sold the contents of the stores.

CHAP. XL.

Of Cleomenes.

WHEN the new moon came, and it was full time to give the soldiers their rations, Cleomenes purposely went on board his ship; and as the month went on, he disembarked and distributed the rations, and then on the following month he deferred giving the rations until the next new moon. The soldiers accordingly kept themselves quiet, owing to having recently received their provisions; while he omitted one month in every year, and so continually deprived his soldiers of a month's pay.

CHAP. XLI.

Of Stabelbius.

STABELBIUS,[1] (king) of the Mysians, when he owed his soldiers pay, having called together the generals, told them that he had no need of the private soldiers; but giving money to each of the generals, he said that whenever he should be in want of privates, he would send them to collect mercenaries, saying that he would more gladly pay to the generals the money which was due to them. He ordered them therefore each to dismiss his own company from out of

[1] Camerarius reads Σταβίβιος, ὀφείλων στρατιώταις μισθόν. Raphaelis Volaterani Epitome. Σταβέλβιος, ὁ Μυσῶν βασιλεὺς, ὀφείλων στρατιώταις μισθὸν, τοὺς ἡγέμονας συγκαλέσας. (Syllburgius.) The reading of Bekker is clearly faulty, and cannot be rendered into English; that of Syllburgius has been retained in the present translation.

the country. The generals accordingly supposing that they would have an opportunity of making money, sent the soldiers away as he ordered. And after a brief interval, and having collected them together, he said that neither a flute-player without a chorus, nor a general without private soldiers, was of any service; accordingly he bade them depart from the country.

CHAP. XLII.

Of Dionysius.

DIONYSIUS, going round the temples, wherever he saw any table standing of gold or silver, ordered them to pour out a draught for good luck, and to carry them away; and if any of the statues held forward a cup in its hand, he would say, "I pledge you," and bid them to remove it. And the gilded garments and the crowns he stripped from off the shrines, saying that he would give them others, lighter and more fragrant; and then he clothed them with white robes and crowns made of white poplar.

APPENDIX.

[*Note on Book V., Chap.* 12. *See page* 210.]

THE passage of Plato here referred to by Aristotle, occurs in book viii. chap. 3, and is thus rendered in Mr. Burges's recent translation. "It is hard indeed for a state thus constituted to become disturbed; but as every thing generated is liable to corruption, even such a constitution as this cannot abide for ever, but must be dissolved; and its dissolution is as follows. Not only as regards terrestrial plants, but likewise terrestrial animals, a fertility and sterility both of soul and body take place; when

the revolutions of the heavenly bodies complete the periphery of their respective orbits, which are shorter to the shorter lived, and contrariwise to the contrary; and with reference to the fertility and sterility of your race, though those are wise whom you have trained as governors of the state, yet they will never, by intellect and sense united, observe the proper season for procreation, but let it slip by, and sometimes generate children when they ought not. To that, however, which is divinely generated, there is a period which is comprehended by the *perfect number;* whereas, to that generated by man, there is one, in which the augmentations of the surpassing and surpassed, after having received three separations and four boundaries of things similar and dissimilar, increasing and decreasing, will render all things correspondent and rational; *of which the sesquitertian root conjoined with the pentad, and thrice increased, affords two harmonies;* one of these, the equally equal, just a hundred times as much; while the other, of equal length indeed, but of oblong shape, is of a hundred numbers from effable diameters of the pentad, each wanting one, two of which are irrational, and of a hundred cubes of the triad. And the whole of this geometric number, having such an influence, is concerned with worse and better generations. Now, if our governors be ignorant of this, and join our couples together unseasonably, the children will neither possess talent nor be fortunate either." Mr. Burges remarks in a note that this passage of Plato, descriptive of the *geometric* or *fatal* number, has baffled the ingenuity of every commentator; but he gives, in an appendix at the end of his volume, the views of Baroccius, Schneider, and others, at the same time pronouncing them one and all to be most unsatisfactory. We may observe that the passage of Aristotle which we have before us, though involving a most obscure quotation from Plato, is passed over without note or comment (as hopeless) by Sylburgius in his edition of the Politics (Oxford, 1810); but Lambinus translates it thus, "Horum autem esse principium ea quorum radix sesquitertia numero quinario juncta, duos concentus efficit: quod futurum est, (inquit) cum hujus descriptæ figuræ numerus solidus factus fuerit, proinde quasi natura malos homines, et nullâ disciplinâ sanabiles, aliquando gignat." Taylor translates it nearly as I have done in the text. Mr. Burges tells us that "Baroccius considers the sesquitertian progeny (ἐπίτριτος ἐπυθμήν), to be a root or prime number, and fixes on the number *seven* as its representative (4 + 3 = 7). Further, by the two harmonies, he (Baroccius) supposes Plato to mean the connexion between the *square* and *cube* of twelve, —which is itself made up of seven and five, (ἐπίτριτος πυθμὴν πεμπάδι συζυγείς)—i. e. 144 and 1728—*twelve* being a number often mentioned by Plato as not only perfect, but the type of perfection. If this be granted, the geometric, or perfect, or fatal number may be considered to be 1728, the cube of 12. This opinion, however, is opposed by Schneider, who conceives it to be 216, i. e. 6^3, which is made up of three other cubes, viz. 27, 64, and 125, i. e. 3^3, 4^3, and 5^3. Others again have considered the root to be 9, the cube-root of 729."

Taylor takes a different view of the matter; and I have thought it best to give here a large portion of his note entire. "By the sesquitertian progeny, Plato means the number 95; for this number is composed of the addition of the squares of the numbers 4 and 3, which form the first sesquitertian ratio, (viz. 25,) and the number 70, which is composed of 40 and 30, and

therefore consists of two numbers in a sesquitertian ratio. This number conjoined with 5, and thrice increased, produces ten thousand and a million. For $100 \times 100 = 10{,}000$, and $10{,}000 \times 100 = 1{,}000{,}000$. But it must here be observed, that these two numbers . . . appear to be considered by Plato as analogous to two parallelopipedons; the former, namely, ten thousand, being formed out of $10 \times 10 \times 100$, and the latter, a million, from $1000 \times 10 \times 100$. These two numbers are called by Plato 'two harmonies,' for the following reason: Simplicius, in his Commentary on Aristotle's book De Cœlo, informs us that a cube among the Pythagoreans was denominated 'harmony,' because it consists of 12 bounding lines, 8 angles, and 6 sides; and 12, 8, and 6 are in harmonic proportion. For the difference between 12 and 8 is to the difference between 8 and 6, i. e. 4 is to 2, as the first term is to the third, viz. as 12 is to 6; which, as is well known, is the law of harmonic proportion. As a parallelopipedon, therefore, has the same number of sides, angles, and bounding lines as a cube, the reason is obvious why the numbers 10,000 and 100,000 are called by Plato harmonies. Hence, also, it is evident why he says that the other of these harmonies, viz. a million, is of equal length indeed, but more oblong: for if we call 100 the breadth and 10 the depth, both of 10,000 and 1,000,000, it is evident, that the latter number, when considered as produced by $1000 \times 10 \times 100$, will be analogous to a more oblong parallelopipedon than the former.

"Again, when he says that the number 1,000,000 consists of a hundred numbers from effable numbers of pentads, each being deficient by unity, and from two that are ineffable, and from a hundred cubes of the triad, his meaning is as follows. The number 1,000,000 consists of a hundred numbers, i. e. of a hundred such numbers as 10,000, each of which is composed from effable diameters of pentads, etc. But in order to understand the truth of this assertion, it is necessary to understand that there are certain numbers which are called by arithmeticians effable diameters. These, also, are two-fold; for some are the diameters of even squares, and others of odd squares. And the diameters of effable even squares, when multiplied into themselves, produce square numbers double of the squares of which they are the diameters with an excess of unity. Thus for instance, the number 3 multiplied into itself produces 9, which is double of the square number 4 with an excess of unity, and therefore 3 will be the diameter of the even square 4. But the diameters of effable odd square numbers are in power double of the squares of which they are diameters by a deficiency of unity. Thus, the number 7, multiplied into itself, produces 49, which is double of the odd square number 25 by a deficiency of unity. This being premised, it follows that the number 10,000 will consist of a certain number of heptads; for 7 is the effable diameter of the square number 25; and from what follows, it will be found that this number is 1386.

"But the number 10,000 not only consists of 1386 heptads, but Plato also adds, 'from two numbers that are ineffable;' viz. from two numbers the roots of which cannot be exactly obtained or expressed either in whole numbers or in fractions, such as the roots of the numbers 2 and 3. The numbers 15 and 13 also are of this kind, and appear to be the numbers signified by Plato. In the last place he adds, 'and from 100 cubes of the triad,' viz. from the number 270; for this is equal to a hundred

times 27, the cube of 3. The numbers then which form 10,000 are as below.

1386
7
9702
15
13
270
10,000

viz. 1386 heptads, two ineffable numbers, (15 and 13,) and a hundred times the cube of 3, (270); and so the whole geometric number is 1,000,000." But in asserting that 270 is a hundred times the cube of 3, Taylor is obviously at fault; for the cube of 3 is 27, and this number multiplied by 100 becomes 2700, not 270. Unless, then, some error lies in the text of Plato, (which is hinted in no edition of the Republic that I have been able to consult,) this one mistake is fatal to Taylor's theory. It is quite clear that he has chosen a million as the perfect number quite arbitrarily; and that in order to make his figures come right, he has done his sum backwards, taking 1386, as being the 7th part of the excess of 10,000 above 298. It is curious, however, that 1386, as well as 9702, is divisible by 7.

While so little certain information concerning the Pythagorean numbers has been handed down to us, or been discovered by the researches of antiquarians and mathematicians, it is impossible to pronounce a decisive opinion upon the main difficulty in the text of Aristotle, who of course is borrowing the language of Plato, inherited by him again from the old Pythagorean school of philosophy. For further information the reader will do well to consult Taylor's note on the fifth book of the Politics, and the references given by Mr. Burges in the Appendix to vol. ii. of his translation of Plato.